

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 074937
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:GWCHAPMAN:RAH
APPROVED BY C:MNIMETZ
EUR/SE:RCEWING
EUR:REBARBOUR
S/S-O:SRPVALERGA

-----103932 231557Z /40

P R 231521Z MAR 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

S E C R E T STATE 074937

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, CY

SUBJ: COUNSELOR NIMETZ' MEETING WITH CYPRUS HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES PRESIDET MICHAELIDES, MARCH 21

1. MICHAELIDES STRESSED FOLLOWING POINTS IN BRIEF PRIVATE
SESSION WITH NIMETZ BEFORE CYPRUS EMBASSY OFFICER AND
DEPTOFFS JOINED NIMETZ FOR REMAINDER OF MEETING:

(A) KYPRIANOU GOVERNMENT WHILE MAINTAINING FORMAL NON-
ALIGNMENT WANTS TO MAINTAIN ITS TIES WITH THE U.S. AND THE
WEST. IN THIS REGARD IT HOPES IN THE COMING YEARS TO BUILD
BETTER RELATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WEST AND ESPECIALLY WITH THE
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 074937

USG. MICHAELIDES ASKED THAT ANY PROBLEM AREAS OR MISUNDER-
STANDINGS BE RAPIDLY BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE GOC,
AND URGED THAT THE TWO GOVERNMENTS STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH;

(B) IN THE PAST THE GOC, AND ESPECIALLY ARCHBISHOP
MAKARIOS, HAD PREFERRED TO OPERATE THROUGH COMPARTMENTALIZED
SPECIAL EMISSARIES. THESE PEOPLE DEALT PERSONALLY WITH
OTHER GOVERNMENTS ON VARIOUS PROBLEMS. THERE WERE GOOD
REASONS FOR SUCH A PRACTICE BUT IT HAD IMPEDED THE DEVELOP-
MENT OF HEALTHY DEMOCRATIC STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES. THE

GOC UNDER KYPRIANOU NOW PLANS TO CONDUCT ITS RELATIONS IN AN OPEN WAY BASED ON MORE MODERN EUROPEAN DIPLOMATIC

PRACTICES. IT THUS HOPES TO REDUCE THE ROLE OF CLIQUES AND PERSONALITIES AND BUILD REAL DEMOCRACY. IT HOPES THAT WESTERN DEMOCRACIES WILL HELP IN THIS ENDEAVOR BY CONCENTRATING CONTACTS WITH RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND LESS WITH "MARGINAL PERSONALITIES."

(C) MICHAELIDES REITERATED REQUEST MADE PREVIOUSLY TO SECRETARY VANCE THAT THE USG BECOME MORE ACTIVELY AND DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN SUBSTANCE OF CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS. FYI: NIMETZ RECALLED RESPONSE SECRETARY HAD MADE ON THIS SUBJECT TO MICHAELIDES MARCH 17 (STATE 71814). END FYI

2. NIMETZ OPENED EXPANDED SESSION BY NOTING THAT THE SECRETARY HAD ASKED HIM TO CONVEY TO MICHAELIDES HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE CYPRUS SUPREME COURT DECISION TO REDUCE THE SENTENCES HANDED DOWN LAST SUMMER IN THE DAVIES CASE. THIS WAS, IN THE SECRETARY'S VIEW, AN UNFORTUNATE DEVELOPMENT IN LIGHT OF ALL THE TERRORIST ACTS NOW BEING PERPETRATED; ALL COUNTRIES HAVE AN OBLIGATION TO BE AS TOUGH AS POSSIBLE TOWARDS TERRORISM. NIMETZ UNDERScored THE SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 074937

SENSITIVITY WITHIN THE USG AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC TO TERRORIST ACTS AGAINST AMERICANS, PARTICULARLY THE KILLINGS OF U.S. AMBASSADORS. MICHAELIDES SAID THAT THE GOC WAS EXTREMELY CONCERNED OVER THIS DECISION, CONSIDERING IT POLITICALLY WRONG EVEN IF LEGALLY CORRECT. UNFORTUNATELY, THE GOC WAS LIMITED AS TO WHAT IT COULD DO BY THE SEPARATION OF POWERS.

3. NIMETZ SUGGESTED THAT THE GOC MIGHT SEEK TO CLARIFY THE ISSUE BY MAKING A PUBLIC STATEMENT STRESSING THAT THIS WAS A JUDICIAL DECISION IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT INVOLVED. PEOPLE MIGHT WELL BE INCLINED TO VIEW THE REDUCTION OF SENTENCES AS A POLITICAL ACT, AND IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME OFFICIAL GOC WORD ON RECORD. MICHAELIDES SAW NO REASON WHY SUCH A STATEMENT COULD NOT BE ISSUED BY THE GOC SPOKESMAN, PREFERABLY IN ANSWER TO A JOURNALIST'S QUESTION. (WE NOTED THAT THIS HAS BEEN DONE MARCH 22--NICOSIA 765.)

4. ON THE SUBJECT OF U.S.-CYPRUS RELATIONS, NIMETZ COMMENTED THAT SOME STRAIN AND FRICTION WERE TO BE EXPECTED OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS REGARDLESS OF WHAT WE MIGHT DO ON THE TURKISH DCA. OUR CONCERN WAS THAT THIS LESS-THAN-SATISFACTORY SITUATION COULD WELL BE EXACERBATED BY THE CYPRIOT PRESS AND BY ELEMENTS IN THE CYPRIOT POLITICAL SPECTRUM, AND WE HOPED VERY MUCH THAT THE GOC WOULD BE ABLE TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AS THE NEED AROSE, EVEN IF DEVELOP-

MENTS WERE NOT ENTIRELY IN CYPRIOT FAVOR. OTHERWISE,
RELATIONS COULD BE ARTIFICALLY WORSENER. IN THIS

CONNECTION NIMETZ POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. HAD NOT
ATTEMPTED TO EXPLOIT LYSSARIDES' OUTRAGEOUS ACCUSATION
THAT CLARK CLIFFORD HAD BEEN LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR
MAKARIOS' DEATH; IF A U.S. CONGRESSMAN HAD MADE A COM-
PARABLE ACCUSATION, THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN BANNER ANTI-U.S.
HEADLINES IN THE CYPRIOT PRESS. THERE WAS ALL THE MORE
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 074937

REASON FOR THE GOC TO HAVE COUNTERED THE LYSSARIDES STATE-
MENT IN THAT THE IMAGE WAS FRESH IN THE PEOPLE'S MINDS
OF LYSSARIDES ACTING AS KYPRIANOU'S RIGHT-HAND MAN DURING
THE LARNACA INCIDENT.

5. IN RESPONSE, MICHAELIDES EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOC
URGENTLY WISHED TO DEVELOP AND IMPROVE ITS RELATIONS WITH
THE U.S. HE NOTED THAT THERE WERE PARTIES IN CYPRUS AND
IN GREECE WHICH WERE OPPOSED TO THE U.S., BUT STRESSED THAT
IN NEITHER COUNTRY COULD THE GOVERNMENT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE
FOR THE STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS OF THESE PARTIES.
MICHAELIDES STRESSED THAT LYSSARIDES HAD NO ROLE IN THE
GOVERNMENT. WITH REFERENCE TO THE LARNACA INCIDENT, HE
SAID THAT THE GOC HAD RECENTLY TOLD EMBASSIES OF NEIGHBOR-
ING COUNTRIES THAT NO INTERFERENCE IN CYPRUS WOULD BE
BROOKED, AND THAT THE PLO HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY WARNED TO
DO ITS FIGHTING ELSEWHERE THAN IN CYPRUS.

6. TURNING TO THE PROSPECTS FOR RESUMPTION OF INTER-
COMMUNAL TALKS, MICHAELIDES STRESSED THAT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS
WOULD UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES ENGAGE IN FRUITLESS NEGOTIA-
TIONS ON THE BASIS OF INADEQUATE TURKISH PROPOSALS. THE
GOC VERY MUCH WANTED TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE PRO-
POSALS ALREADY MADE BY THE TWO COMMUNITIES, BUT TALKS
WOULD BE PLAINLY TO NO PRACTICAL AVAIL IF THEY AGREED TO
NEGOTIATE ON THE BASIS OF PROPOSALS THAT DID NOT PROVIDE
FOR AN INDEPENDENT, UNIFIED NATION WITH A FEDERAL SYSTEM
OF GOVERNMENT. MICHAELIDES ASSURED NIMETZ THAT THE GOC
WOULD BE LOOKING VERY CAREFULLY AT THE NEW PROPOSALS;
THEY WOULD BE EQUALLY CAREFUL, HOWEVER, NOT TO CREATE A
FALSE IMPRESSION OF PROGRESS. HE SAID THAT THE GOC WOULD
STAND BY AN "OBJECTIVE" APPRAISAL THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE
REASONABLE, AND HE URGED ONCE AGAIN THAT THE U.S. BE
SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 074937

ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS.

7. NIMETZ SUGGESTED THAT MICHAELIDES SOUND OUT WALDHEIM
AS TO HIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE PROCEDURES FOR RECONVENING

THE TALKS AND AS TO HIS PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF OUTSIDE INTERESTED PARTIES. (MICHAELIDES EXPECTED TO SEE WALDHEIM IN NEW YORK MARCH 22.) NIMETZ ALSO SUGGESTED MICHAELIDES PROBE WALDHEIM FOR IDEAS ON HOW THE GAP BETWEEN PROPOSALS COULD BE BRIDGED. NIMETZ URGED THAT THE GOC INDEED STUDY

THE ANTICIPATED PROPOSALS VERY CLOSELY, AS THEY WOULD BE THE PRODUCT OF A GREAT DEAL OF EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE TURKS AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS. SHOULD THEY BE REASONABLE AND THE TURKS BE READY TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH, THEN NOTHING WOULD BE LOST IN HOLDING NEW TALKS. NIMETZ CAUTIONED THAT WORLD OPINION COULD WELL TURN AGAINST THE GREEK CYPRIOTS IF THEY WERE TO REJECT PROPOSALS THAT WERE OBJECTIVELY SEEN AS REASONABLE. MOREOVER, IN THE EVENT OF REJECTION THE TURKS WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY NOT DEVELOP REVISED PROPOSALS FOR SOME YEARS TO COME, AND THEY MIGHT WELL TAKE UNILATERAL AND POTENTIALLY DAMAGING ACTIONS IN CYPRUS SUCH AS THE SETTLEMENT OF VAROSHA. ECEVIT, WHO HAS INVESTED CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL PRESTIGE IN THIS EFFORT, WOULD STRESS IN PUBLIC THAT HE HAD BEEN READY TO TALK AND WOULD PORTRAY THE GOC AS THE INTRANSIGENT PARTY. NIMETZ UNDERSCORED THE REAL RISKS OF NOT NEGOTIATING SHOULD AN OPPORTUNITY ARISE; WITH THE PASSAGE OF TIME THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY SETTLEMENT COULD NOT HELP BUT DIMINISH, AND A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT IN GERMANY OR KOREA COULD EMERGE.

8. MICHAELIDES SAID THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE FULLY AWARE OF THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES OF LIFTING THE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST TURKEY. THIS WOULD, IN BRIEF, BE HIGHLY DAMAGING IF NOT FATAL TO THE PROSPECTS FOR A SETTLEMENT IN THAT IT WOULD ELIMINATE ALL INCENTIVE FOR THE TURKS TO BE FORTH-
SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 074937

COMING. IT WOULD BE WIDELY VIEWED AS A WASHINGTON RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD THE EMBARGO BE LIFTED AND THE CURRENT EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE TALKS THEN COLLAPSE. MICHAELIDES STRESSED, IN ADDITION, THAT THE MERE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS PROGRESS IN THE EMBARGO CONTEXT.

9. IN REPLY NIMETZ SKETCHED THE TWO CHOICES THAT APPEARED TO BE OPEN TO THE GOC SHOULD THE TURKISH PROPOSALS BE ON THE MARGIN OF REASONABLENESS. THEY COULD AGREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE RISK THAT THIS WOULD BE SEEN AS PROGRESS; OR THEY COULD REJECT THE PROPOSALS SO AS TO IMPROVE THE CHANCES FOR MAINTAINING THE EMBARGO. NIMETZ URGED THAT THE GOC NOT APPROACH THE ISSUE WITH EMBARGO CONSIDERATIONS PREDOMINANT; THEY SHOULD, RATHER, TAKE A CONSTRUCTIVE POSITION BASED ON THE MERITS OF THE PROPOSALS. WHILE ASSURING MICHAELIDES THAT WE WOULD NOT REGARD THE MERE SUBMISSION OF PROPOSALS AS SUFFICIENT PROGRESS TO SATISFY THE REQUIREMENTS OF SECTION 620(X), NIMETZ POINTED OUT THAT THE VERY EXISTENCE OF CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON THE TABLE WOULD BE

VIEWS BY MOST PEOPLE AS A SIGNIFICANT ACCOMPLISHMENT.
THIS WOULD CERTAINLY BE THE CASE IN THE MIDDLE EAST
CONTEXT.

10. NIMETZ ALSO TOOK ISSUE WITH CERTAIN OF THE BASIC
PREMISES OF THE CYPRIOT EMBARGO THESIS. THE ESSENTIAL
QUESTION WE WERE ADDRESSING WAS ONE OF U.S. LEVERAGE WITH
ANOTHER COUNTRY, AND IT COULD BE ARGUED THAT WE HAD CON-
SIDERABLY MORE LEVERAGE WITH THE ISRAELIS AND THE EGYPTIANS
--AGAINST WHOM NO EMBARGO IS IN FORCE--THAN WITH THE TURKS.
INDEED, IT WAS NIMETZ' IMPRESSION THAT WE WOULD HAVE BEEN
MORE SUCCESSFUL IN INDUCING THE TURKS TO BE FORTHCOMING
ON CYPRUS HAD WE ENJOYED A BETTER OVERALL RELATIONSHIP
WITH THEM. NIMETZ ALSO SOUGHT TO DISPEL THE APPARENT
SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 074937

CYPRIOT NOTION THAT U.S. POLICY COULD BE SUMMED UP SIMPLY
AS EITHER EMBARGO OR NO EMBARGO. LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO
WOULD NOT IMPLY THAT WE HAD DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE TURKS
OVER THE CYPRIOTS ON THE CYPRUS ISSUE; AND IT WOULD BY NO
MEANS SPELL AN END TO OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE A SETTLEMENT.
THE EMBARGO HAD BECOME A MYTHICAL OBJECT AS FAR AS BOTH
SIDES WERE CONCERNED, THE TURKS FOR THEIR PART TENDING TO
ASCRIBE ALL THEIR CURRENT ILLS TO ITS EFFECT.

11. MICHAELIDES INFORMED DEPTOFFS THAT HE WOULD LEAVE FOR
NEW YORK AFTERNOON MARCH 21 TO MEET WITH WALDHEIM AND
OTHER UN OFFICIALS. HE WOULD THEN STOP IN LONDON MARCH 23
TO SEE FCO MINISTER OF STATE JUDD AND IN ATHENS MARCH 24
TO MEET WITH PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS. IN ADDITION TO
MEETINGS WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS ALREADY REPORTED,
MICHAELIDES DID CHAT BRIEFLY WITH VICE PRESIDENT ON THE
SENATE FLOOR MARCH 16 WHEN HE OBSERVED SENATE RATIFICATION
OF PANAMA CANAL NEUTRALITY TREATY. VANCE

SECRET

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: NONALIGNED NATIONS, MEETINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE074937
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/SE:GWCHAPMAN:RAH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780128-0574
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197803126/baaafcec.tel
Line Count: 256
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 826c5ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3166825
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COUNSELOR NIMETZ\ MEETING WITH CYPRUS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PRESIDET MICHAELIDES, MARCH 21
TAGS: PEPR, CY, (MICHAELIDES, ALECOS), (NIMETZ, MATTHEW)
To: NICOSIA INFO ANKARA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/826c5ebb-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014